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A New Source for the Poetry of Ibn Maṭrūḥ (1196–1251)

Summary: This article discusses the oldest surviving manuscript of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*, which was not used to prepare any of the four printed editions of this work. It also presents a number of challenging literary historical issues in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's oeuvre in the hopes of outlining the complexities of his poetic career and identifying future avenues for research.

Keywords: Ibn Maṭrūḥ, Ayyubid Poetry, Manuscripts, Textual Criticism, Arabic Poetry, Crusades

Perhaps owing to their political careers, the Egyptian poet Ḡamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā b. Maṭrūḥ (592–649/1196–1251) and his close friend and compatriot Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr (581–656/1186–1258) have received considerably more attention than other Arabic poets active in the period from 1200 to 1800.¹ Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr has the distinction of being the first Arabic poet to have had his complete works translated into English and Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* has been published four times in the past century and a half; three times in the past thirty years.² This state of affairs runs counter to the widely acknowledged scholarly disregard for Arabic literature produced during the period 1200–1800. It is regrettable, however, that in the case of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poetry this exceptional attention has not achieved much. Indeed it is disappointingly typical of the field of pre-modern Arabic literature that subsequent editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* have not built on previous efforts and have failed to make use of the oldest manuscript source of the *Dīwān*.³ It is perhaps due to the

1. Acknowledgments: I would like to thank the librarians at the School of Oriental and African Studies (London), American University in Cairo, Institut dominicain d'études orientales (Cairo), and Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin for their help with this project. I would also like to thank Profs Adam Gacek and Elias Muhanna for their help with an inquiry about the donor of the SOAS MS.

2. The edition and translation of Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr's poetry was undertaken by Edward Henry Palmer (1840–82) and published in 1876–77. Information about Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* is given below and in the bibliography.

3. In addition to the manuscript that is the subject of this article, the editors failed to make use of 'Umar Wafīq Ṣābir's 1994 MA Thesis.

preceding that they have not made much of an impact on our understanding of XIII-century Arabic poetry.

Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* was first printed in Constantinople at the al-Ġawā'ib Press on 15 Rajab 1298/13 June 1881 in an edition prepared by the in-house editor (*muṣaḥḥiḥ*) Yūsuf al-Nabhānī.⁴ It was printed at the end of the *Dīwān* of 'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. before 193/809) and included a long excerpt from Ibn Ḥallikān's (d. 681/1282) *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān* recounting the poet's life.⁵ This edition of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* is 54 pages long and contains 106 poems by him, a total of 818 verses. There is no mention of the source-text(s) used to create this *editio princeps*, but it was almost certainly one or both of the two manuscripts of the *Dīwān* available in Istanbul libraries.⁶ The *Dīwān* of Ibn Maṭrūḥ is preserved in the following MSS, the oldest of which (SOAS Arabic MS 13248) has never been utilized before.

Manuscripts of the *Dīwān*

1. SOAS Arabic MS 13248 [Symbol: SOAS]

82 poems over 27 folios. A total of 577 verses.⁷ The poems in this MS are indexed to the four printed editions in the concordance that is appended to this article. This MS—the oldest surviving recension of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*—is a xvth-century copy and shares a codex with the *Dīwān* of Ibn Nabīh (d. 619/1222).⁸ The MS is not dated

4. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Nabhānī, p. 218. On the publishing house established by Aḥmad Fāris al-Šidyāq (1804–1887), see Alwan, 1977 and Roper, 2007. Yūsuf al-Nabhānī (1849–1932) was a Palestinian scholar of Islam, judge, and prolific author and poet.

5. The title of the omnibus is *Dīwān Abī al-Faḍl al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf wa-fī āḥirih Dīwān Ġamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Maṭrūḥ al-Miṣrī*. The relevant section in Ibn Ḥallikān's biographical dictionary can be found on pages 219–24 of the *Dīwān* or in Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 6:258–66; *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, 4:144–51. See also, on the poet, *EncIsf*, s.v. "Ibn Maṭrūḥ" [A. Talib]; *EncIsf*, s.v. "Ibn Maṭrūḥ" [J. Rikabi]; Brockelmann, *GAL*, 1898–1942 [repr. 1943–49], 1:263, S1:465; Kaḥḥāla, 1957, 13:217–18.

6. This issue is discussed by 'Awaḍ Muḥammad al-Šālīḥ in the introduction to his edition of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*.

7. See Gacek, 1981, no. 58.

8. See Gacek, 1981, no. 59.

but the copyist ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī—known as Ibn Šams—died in 856/1452. The codex was donated to SOAS by one E. J. Portal on 31 August 1921.⁹

2. Köprülü (Istanbul) MS 1266 [Symbol: K]

29 folios. This MS of the *Dīwān* begins with SOAS 1. In his 1911 description of the Köprülü collection of Arabic manuscripts, Otto Rescher wrote that the manuscript is not dated and “barely more than two hundred years old”, but ‘Awaḍ Muḥammad al-Šāliḥ reports that it was written at the end of Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1012/1603 and was copied by one ‘Umrān b. Muḥammad al-Mağribī.¹⁰ Al-Šāliḥ’s dating is corroborated by the more recent catalogue of Köprülü manuscripts, though this only records that the MS was copied in the xth/xviii century.¹¹ The MS is part of the Fazıl Ahmed Paşa collection.

3. Baghdad Awqāf MS 490 [Symbol: Baghdad]

Copied in 1044/1634 by Ramaḍān b. Mūsā al-‘Aṭifī. According to Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, this MS of the *Dīwān* follows the same ordering of MSS K and V.¹² The *Dīwān* is part of a collection (*mağmū‘*), which also includes the *Dīwān*-s of al-Šabb al-Zarīf (661/1263–688/1289), Ibn Nabīh (d. 619/1222), Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥāğirī (d. 622/1225), Manjak (d. 1080/1669).¹³

4. British Library MS OR 3853 [Symbol: BriLib₁]

42 poems over 15 folios.¹⁴ The poems in this copy of the *Dīwān* are arranged alphabetically by rhyme-letter. Copied in Radā‘ al-‘Arš (Yemen) in 1088/1677. This

9. Personal communication with SOAS library staff. Prof. Elias Muhanna put me in touch with Prof. Adam Gacek who had no additional information about the identity of this donor.

10. Rescher, 1911, pp. 174–75, no. 16; Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šāliḥ, p. 252.

11. Şeşen et al., 1986, 2:44.

12. Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, p. 25.

13. See Ṭalas, 1953, pp. 319–20.

14. See Rieu, 1871, no. 1073-1 and Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šāliḥ, p. 259.

version of the *Dīwān* begins, like MS Rylands, with Amīn 26 (see discussion of this poem and its disputed authorship below). It ends with a *dūbayt* poem (Amīn Rub.2).

5. Veliyüddin Efendi (Beyazit State Library, Istanbul) MS 3208 [Symbol: V]

Like the 1881 al-Nabhānī ed., this recension shares a codex with the *Dīwān* of ‘Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf, which precedes it.¹⁵ According to Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, this recension follows the order of MS K and was copied in 1122/1710.¹⁶

6. John Rylands (Manchester) MS 464 [476] [Symbol: Rylands]

37 poems over 18 folios. The poems in this copy of the *Dīwān* are arranged alphabetically by rhyme-letter. The MS is not dated, but Mingana suggests the copy was made c. 1720. It begins—like MS BriLib₁—with Amīn 26 (see discussion of this poem and its disputed authorship below). It ends with al-Nabhānī 78 (see discussion of this poem below).¹⁷

7. Haram Library (Mecca) MS [Symbol: Mecca]

143 Poems. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār is the only editor to have used this MS. He describes it briefly in the introduction to his edition but does not give a shelfmark.¹⁸ According to him, the end of the MS was missing from the copy he used. This MS of the *Dīwān* begins with SOAS 1 and ends with SOAS 26. The MS contains no information about the copyist or date or location of copying, but Naṣṣār records a reader’s note dated 1089/1678.¹⁹

8. Berlin MS Sprenger 1127-1 [Symbol: Berlin₁]

This MS and MS Berlin₂ (see number 9 below) share a single codex and 66 folios between them. MS Sprenger 1127-1 falls on ff. 1, 2, 7–24, and 53–66. This MS begins

15. See *Defter-i Kütüphanesi Veliyüddin*, 1304/1886, p. 283.

16. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, p. 25.

17. See Mingana, 1934, pp. 772–73.

18. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, p. 28.

19. The MS is not catalogued in either Muṭī‘ al-Raḥmān & ‘Īd, 2006–2007 or al-Mu‘allimī, 1996.

with al-Nabhānī 62 followed by al-Nabhānī 75; it ends with Amīn 88. It was copied by al-Darwīš Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Harīrī al-Ḥalabī around 1750 according to Ahlwardt.²⁰

9. Berlin MS Sprenger 1127-3 [Symbol: Berlin₂]

This MS of the *Dīwān* shares a codex with the previous MS.²¹ This MS (MS Sprenger 1127-3) falls on ff. 25–29, 41–52. It includes a unique introduction by the anonymous compiler of the collection.²² The collection begins with Amīn 98 and ends with Amīn 93.

10. Asad Zāhiriyya Library (Damascus) MS 9982-*tā'* [Symbol: Damascus]

41 poems over 15 folios. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār is the only editor to have used this MS.²³ It follows a similar order to that found in MSS Rylands and BriLib.²⁴ The MS is not dated but Naṣṣār records a reader's mark dated 1283/1866. It begins with SOAS 9 and ends with al-Nabhānī 103. It is unlikely that it ends with Naṣṣār 208 as Naṣṣār has it in his edition. This poem, attributed elsewhere to Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī (320–57/932–68), is rather part of the anthology that follows on from the *Dīwān* of Ibn Maṭrūḥ in this codex. Naṣṣār says that a copy of this MS is available at the Juma Almajid Center for Culture and Heritage (Dubai); one of two copies of MSS of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* available at that library.

11. British Library MS ADD 7580 Rich [Symbol: BriLib₂]

An anonymous poetry anthology containing a single poem of 12 vv. by Ibn Maṭrūḥ (al-Nabhānī 75).²⁵ Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poetry is cited in numerous pre-modern anthologies

20. Ahlwardt, 1887–99, vol. 7, no. 7754.

21. See Ahlwardt, 1887–99, vol. 7, no. 7755.

22. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. Amīn., pp. 63–4.

23. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, pp. 27–8.

24. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, p. 27.

25. See Rieu, 1846, no. 630-2; and also Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, p. 273.

so al-Şālih's use of this particular MS anthology in his edition cannot be regarded as entirely systematic.

Printed editions of the *Dīwān*

The *Dīwān* has been published a total of four times in editions based on one or more of the above manuscripts, except for the oldest manuscript (MS SOAS) which has never been used. A concordance of these editions and MS SOAS is appended to this article. NB: throughout this article, I refer to Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poems by their left-most position in the concordance table found in the appendix.

1. ed. Yūsuf al-Nabhānī, Constantinople, 1298/1881
2. ed. Ġawda Amīn, Cairo, 1989

Based on al-Nabhānī ed. and MSS K, BriLib₁, Berlin₁, Berlin₂, 232 poems divided into four sections: the *Dīwān*, a section of seven *rubā'īyyāt* (scil. *dūbayt* poems), and two supplements of poems found in other sources: one of poems attributed exclusively to Ibn Maṭrūḥ (*mulḥaq* 1) and one of poems attributed to him as well as others (*mulḥaq* 2). In the concordance these appendices are coded as Rub, M₁, and M₂ respectively. A few poems are unique to this edition. A total of 1768 verses.²⁶

3. ed. 'Awaḍ al-Şālih, Benghazi, 1995

Based on al-Nabhānī ed. and MSS K, BriLib₁, Rylands, Berlin₁, and BriLib₂, 185 poems, including some unique to this edition. A total of 1376 verses.

4. ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Cairo, 2009

Based on al-Nabhānī ed. and MSS K, V, Baghdad, BriLib₁, Damascus, and Mecca; MS Rylands was consulted but not used. 261 poems, including all of those in the al-Nabhānī ed. and some unique to this edition. A total of 1998 verses.

26. This edition is mentioned in Claude Gilliot's 1991 round-up of editions (pp. 361–2).

It is regrettable that these scholars spent a great deal of time and energy going over old ground while at the same time failing to incorporate the oldest source of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* in their editions. SOAS Arabic MS 13248 does not contain any poems not extant in the printed editions of the *Dīwān*, but the order of poems it preserves is unique, it offers many textual variants, and indeed the selection of the poems in the manuscript itself is important evidence for the reception of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's literary production. It is worth noting, too, that Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* is appended to the *Dīwān* of Ibn Nabīh (d. 619/1222) in MS SOAS. The copy of Ibn Nabīh's *Dīwān* preserved in the MS codex was copied in 848/1444 and it is likely that the *Dīwān* of Ibn Maṭrūḥ was copied around the same time.²⁷ The colophon of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* is not dated but it states that the copy was made by one 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī—known as Ibn Šams—a copyist at al-Madrasa al-Ġamāliyya (Aleppo) who died in 856/1452.²⁸ The bundling of these two *Dīwān*-s by two Ayyūbid-era, VIIIth/XIIIth-century Egyptian poets into a single codex betokens an indigenous literary history based on chronology, geography, and genre that was the direct forerunner of our orientalist literary history, which has perversely sidelined the careers and legacies of poets like Ibn Nabīh and Ibn Maṭrūḥ. These poets remain important in Arabic-language scholarship because they are associated with a particular historical narrative that continues to be politically relevant for Arab scholars (especially Egyptians), but they are remembered for their political careers as much as their poetry.

The clearest example of this trend is the attention devoted to a poem—purportedly by Ibn Maṭrūḥ—on the occasion of Louis IX's defeat at the Battle of Fariskur on 3 Muḥarram 648/7 April 1250 and his subsequent imprisonment.²⁹ The poem is given in all four of the printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* but it does not occur in the oldest recension (MS SOAS) so I refer to it here as al-Nabhānī 11. The poem was well known in the pre-modern period and while it is not found in MS SOAS it is found in many other near-contemporary and later sources, including several of the MSS

27. Gacek, 1981, no. 59.

28. See SOAS Arabic MS 13248, f. 92b and Gacek, 1981, no. 58.

29. Louis IX (1214–1270) participated in the seventh crusade and died at the beginning of the eighth. He was canonized by Pope Boniface VIII in 1297.

used to prepare the printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*.³⁰ Nevertheless, we cannot be certain of the poem's authenticity without further investigation. This is no impediment, however, to the poem's popularity, which continues to this day: the first two words of the poem "*qul li-l-Fransīs*" turns up more than 200,000 hits on Google and the poem itself was even featured in a sermon on the virtues of Egypt (*faḍā'il Miṣr*) by the extremist Saudi cleric Muḥammad al-ʿArifī broadcast on the Murīd al-Ġanna satellite television channel on 22 December 2012.³¹

[من السريع]

وقال عندما كسر ملك المعظم الفرنسيس واعتقله بدار فخر الدين بن لقمان وقيده بقيده من ذهب ووكل به خادماً
يسمى صبيحاً:

- | | |
|--|---|
| مَقَالَ صِدْقٍ مِنْ قَوْلٍ فَصِيحٍ | [١] قُلْ لِلْفَرَنْسِيِّسِ إِذَا جِئْتَهُ |
| مَنْ قَتَلَ عُبَّادَ يَسُوعَ الْمَسِيحِ | [٢] أَجْرَكَ أَلَّهَ عَلَى مَا مَضَى |
| تَحْسُبُ أَنَّ الزَّمْرِيَا طَبْلُ رِيحٍ | [٣] قَدْ جِئْتَ مِصْرًا تَبْتَغِي أَخْذَهَا |
| ضَاقَ بِهِ عَنْ نَاطِرِيكَ الْفَسِيحِ | [٤] فَسَاقَكَ الْحَيْنُ إِلَى أَدْهَمِ |
| بِقُبْحِ أَفْعَالِكَ بَطْنُ الطَّرِيحِ | [٥] رَحْتَ وَأَصْحَابُكَ أَوْدَعَتْهُمْ |
| إِلَّا قَتِيلَ أَوْ أَسِيرَ جَرِيحٍ | [٦] خَمْسُونَ أَلْفًا لَا يُرَى مِنْهُمْ |
| لَعَلَّ عَيْسَى مِنْكُمْ يَسْتَرِيحُ | [٧] فَرَدَّكَ أَلَّهَ إِلَى مِثْلِهَا |
| فَرُبَّ غِشٍّ قَدْ أَتَى مِنْ نَصِيحٍ | [٨] إِنْ كَانَ بَابَاكُمْ بِذَا رَاضِيَا |
| أَنْصَحُ مِنْ شِقِّ لَكُمْ أَوْ سَاطِيحٍ | [٩] فَاتَّخِذُوهُ كَاهِنًا إِنَّهُ |
| لَاخِذِ ثَأْرٍ أَوْ لِقْضٍ صَاحِيحٍ | [١٠] وَقُلْ لَهُمْ إِنْ أَضْمَرُوا عَوْدَةً |
| وَالْقَيْدُ بَاقٍ وَالطَّوْاشِي صَبِيحٍ | [١١] دَارُ ابْنِ لُقْمَانَ عَلَى عَهْدِهَا |

1. Tell the Frenchman when you see him,

Sincerely, from a loquacious and eloquent man,

30. The poem can be found in various forms (in chronological order) in: al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 7:384–85; al-Yūnīnī, *Dayl*, 2: 212; Abū al-Fidā', *al-Muḥtaṣar*, 3:142; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, 1:232; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 10:315; Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Tārīḥ*, 5:418; al-Qalqaṣandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 8:38 (cf. n. 1); al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, 1:30–31; Ibn Taġribirdī, *al-Nuġūm*, 6:369–70; *al-Manhal*, 3:441; al-Suyūṭī, *Husn*, 2:37.

31. See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wno_06cY7UQ>.

2. May God reimburse you for what has passed:

the deaths of the worshippers of Jesus Christ (*yasūʿ al-masīḥ*).

3. You came to Egypt, wanting to seize her;

You thought that the [sound of] pipes blowing, you drum, was just the wind.³²

4. But then death drove you toward a black steed

And the open spaces before your eyes became narrowed.

5. You left after you deposited your companions

—because of your despicable behavior—in the bottom of their crypts.

6. Fifty thousand, none of them can be seen

who aren't dead or wounded, taken prisoner.

7. May God bring you another day like that one,

Perhaps then Jesus (*ʾisā*) will be relieved of you.

8. If all that has taken place pleases your Pope;

How often has perfidy hidden behind advice?

9. Then take him for your soothsayer

for he is more sage than a peer or one of your slain comrades.

10. And tell them, if they harbor a desire to return,

to take their revenge or even for a purpose sound,

32. *Ṭabl* means “drum” most often, but can also mean “people” (i.e. *al-nās*). I understand its use here as an *istiḥdām*, in which both meanings of the *double entendre* are intended, just like the other semantically linked word in the hemistich: *zamr*, which is a wind instrument but is also itself linked etymologically to another word of the same root meaning “group of men” (*zumra*). See further Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, s. rr. “ṭ-b-l” and “z-m-r”.

11. That Ibn Luqmān's house still stands where it did,³³

and the shackles are here, and so is the eunuch Ṣabīḥ.

Sectarian feeling can also be detected in another poem from Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*; one we might call an invective (*hiḡā'*) epigram. In this poem (SOAS 55), Ibn Maṭrūḥ derides the people of Damascus for taking Saturday as a leisure day, calling it a Jewish tradition (*sunnat al-yahūd*).³⁴

وقال يهجو اهل دمشق: [من المنسرح]
 [١] تَخِذْتُمْ السَّبْتَ يَوْمَ عِيدٍ وَهَذِهِ سَنَّةُ الْيَهُودِ
 [٢] وَكَانَ يَكْفِيكُمْ ضَلَالًا شَرِبُكُمْ الْمَاءَ مِنْ يَزِيدٍ

You've decided Saturdays should be a day of rest,

although that's a Jewish habit.

Isn't it impious enough that you

drink water from [the river] Yazīd.

The last hemistich of this epigram hinges on a double entendre (*tawriya*) in which the tributary of the Baradā river is deliberately confused with the ruler who ordered it to be dug, the caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya (d. 683), who is reviled by many Muslims as the villain of the Battle of Karbalā'.

Disputed *dāliyya* (Amīn 26)

Two of the MSS (Rylands and BriLib₁) used to compile the printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* begin with a poem that is elsewhere said to have been written by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (d. 608/1211).³⁵

A marginal comment in MS Rylands itself corroborates this attribution.³⁶ The poem is also found

33. According to al-Qalqaṣandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'ṣā* (8:38), Louis IX was imprisoned in the house in which the head of the chancery (*ṣāḥib dīwān al-inṣā'*) Faḥr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Luqmān would stay when he traveled to Mansoura. The building survives as a museum.

34. See *EncIsl*, s.v. "Sabt" [A. Rippin].

35. Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, *Dīwān*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, 1958; repr. 1975, pp. 206–11; *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣr, 1969, 2:86–88. The first line of this poem is an oft-cited example of *iktifā'* ("truncation").

36. Mingana, 1934, p. 773; Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, p. 262.

in MS Damascus according to Naṣṣār who reports that the order of poems in MSS Rylands, BriLib, and Damascus is similar and unlike that of the other MSS he consulted. According to Amīn, MS BriLib, only contains Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *ḡazal* poetry and can thus be contrasted with MS SOAS, which includes more of his *madiḥ* output.³⁷ In addition to making use of MS SOAS, one hopes that the next editor of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* will be able to establish the different recension traditions represented by the extant *Dīwān* MSS. In the *Dīwān* of Ibn Maṭrūḥ, this poem (Amīn 26) survives as a ten-line erotic poem (*ḡazal*), but in the *Dīwān* of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk these verses are part of a much longer (46 vv.) praise poem (*madiḥ*) for the judge Ġamāl al-Dīn As'ad b. al-Ġalīs. *Dīwān* editors determine their own strategies for dealing with material whose authorship is disputed and this poem is a lens through which we can see each of the three modern editors' approaches to the problem.

Al-Ṣāliḥ discusses the disputed attribution of the poem, determines that the poem was not written by Ibn Maṭrūḥ, and decides not to include it in his edition of the *Dīwān* for that reason.³⁸ Naṣṣār and Amīn, on the other hand, both include the poem in their edition, but it is only Naṣṣār who acknowledges the poem's disputed attribution in a footnote. Scholarly opinions on the poem's authorship may differ, but there is literary historical value in documenting the poem as it occurs in some of the MSS of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* that have come down to us. Elsewhere I have proposed treating poems like these as poems in parallel in order to cope with situations in which positivist tendencies in literary history encourage us to flatten the complexity and disorder that surround literary creation, transmission, and reproduction.³⁹ I find it vital and germane to record and make sense of the fact that for some anthologists, *Dīwān*-compilers, scribes, and readers in the centuries following Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's deaths, a poem by one could have been plausibly

37. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, p. 27; *Dīwān*, ed. Amīn, p. 56.

38. Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, p. 263. He does, however, include another poem attributed to both Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (Amīn 98).

39. Talib, 2013. This is not exactly the same situation as that described by Paul Zumthor's notion of *mouvance*, or Bernard Cerquiglini's *variance*, though it is of course related to and derivative of these. See also the discussion of Naṣṣār 81 and Naṣṣār 212 below.

attributed to the other. I find it equally thought-provoking that a ten-line *ghazal* poem can exist both on its own as well as within a 46-line *madīḥ* poem.

In the interest of brevity, I do not reproduce and translate the 46-line *madīḥ* poem attributed to Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, rather only the ten-line *ghazal* poem attributed to Ibn Maṭrūḥ. However for purposes of comparison, I have numbered the verses as they correspond to the 46-line *madīḥ* poem found in Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's *Dīwān*.

[من الطويل]

- | | |
|--|---|
| فَقَبِّلْتُهُ فِي الْخَدِّ تَسْعِينَ أَوْ إِحْدَى | [١] دَنَوْتُ وَقَدْ أَبْدَى الْكَرَى مِنْهُ مَا أَبْدَى |
| فَمَا أَغْدَبَ الْمَرْعَى وَمَا أَغْدَبَ الْوَرْدَا | [٢] وَأَبْصَرْتُ فِي خَدَّيْهِ مَاءً وَخُضْرَةً |
| لَقَدْ زِدْتَنِي فِيمَا أَشْرَتْ بِهِ رُشْدًا | [٧] أَقُولُ لِنَاهٍ قَدْ أَشَارَ بِتَرْكِهِ |
| فِيَا جَمْرُ مَا أَذْكَى وَيَا مَاءُ مَا أَنْدَى | [٣] تَلَهَّبَ مَاءُ الْخَدِّ أَوْ سَالَ جَمْرُهُ |
| وَهَلَّا أَمَرْتُ الصَّدْرَ أَنْ يَكْتُمَ النَّهْدَا | [٨] فَهَلَّا نَهَيْتُ الثَّغَرَ أَنْ يُغْدِبَ اللَّمَى |
| وَمَنْ كَانَ يَهْوَى الصَّابَ لَمْ يَعْرِفِ الشَّهْدَا | [٤] يَلُومُ عَلَيْهِ مَنْ يَهِيْمُ بِدُونِهِ |
| فَلَا أَنْعَمْتُ نُعْمَى وَلَا أَسْعَدْتُ سُعْدَى | [٩] بِنَفْسِي مَنْ لَوْ جَادَ لِي بِوَصَالِهِ |
| وَمَا كُلُّ مَصْقُولٍ الطُّلَى يَسْلُبُ الرُّشْدَا | [٥] وَمَا كُلُّ مَعْسُولٍ اللَّمَى يَجْلُبُ الْهَوَى |
| وَمَا دُقْتُ مِنْهَا لَا سَلاماً وَلَا بَرْدَا | [١٣] وَفِي الْقَلْبِ نَارٌ لِلْخَلِيلِ تَوَقَّدَتْ |
| عُطَاشٌ وَيَشْفِي تَرْبُهُ الْأَغْيَنُ الرُّمْدَا | [٢٠] وَرَبْعُ الَّذِي أَهْوَاهُ يَرْوِي شَرَابُهُ الْـ |

1. I drew near when sleep had revealed what it was going to reveal of him

and then I kissed him ninety times or just once.

2. I could see the surface of his cheeks was moist and verdant:

What's sweeter than pasture, what's more pleasant than a rose?

7. To one who tells me I should leave him, I say:

"By pointing a finger, you've only guided me toward him."

3. The water of his cheek blazed, or [perhaps] its coals coursed,

O coals! Is anything more fragrant? O water! Is anything more dew-like?

8. Won't you stop your mouth from sweetening your lips?

And won't you order your chest to suppress your sighs?

4. Those who love him are rebuked only by those who fall for someone else,

For one who loves colocynth knows nothing of honey.

9. I'd give my life for one who, if he were to grant me a meeting,

May I never enjoy happiness again after that!

5. Not every sweet-lipped one succeeds in attracting adoration,

And not every smooth-necked one can rob men of their wits.

13. Fire blazes in my heart for this friend (*al-ḥalīl*)

But I haven't tasted either its calm or its cold.⁴⁰

20. Where the one I love lives, the waters

quench the thirsty and the soil cures sore eyes.

Insofar as conflicted attributions are puzzles for editors to tease out and reconcile as best they can, this poem is a particularly rich example of the challenge of parallel poetry in Arabic. Even if we concede, *prima facie* for the purpose of analysis, that the author of the verses is Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, we cannot conclude that Ibn Maṭrūḥ or those who composed and copied his *Dīwān* did not reassemble Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's *madiḥ* verses into the *ghazal* poem reproduced and translated here. It is implausible that such an intervention would have gone unremarked upon by Ibn Maṭrūḥ's contemporaries, especially in the hothouse atmosphere of Arabic literary circles in which plagiarism was a grave, if common, accusation. Nevertheless even if we are inclined to grant Ibn

40. See Quran XXI, *al-Anbiyā'*, 69. Ibrāhīm, the subject of the Quranic verse, is known as Ḥalīl Allāh or the Friend of God; see also II Chronicles 20:7; Book of James 2:23.

Sanā' al-Mulk the status of author—tendentious thought it may be—we cannot rule out the possibility that Ibn Maṭrūḥ was responsible for this pastiche, if it is indeed a pastiche. I concede that it is far less plausible for Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk to have repurposed verses originally authored by Ibn Maṭrūḥ, but I intend simply to point to the critical interstice between what we suppose and what the literary historical material reflects. Beyond the question of authorship, such a confused attribution also furnishes us with important information about the reception of these two poets in the tradition, their affinity as artists, and anxieties of influence.

Textual Histories

Elsewhere in the MSS of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*, we encounter another instance of poems in parallel; this time, a rather more typical case of what Bernard Cerquiglini has called variance.⁴¹ Al-Nabhānī 81 is a 4-line *ḡazal* poem (recorded in MSS K, V, Berlin, Baghdad, and Mecca), which Ibn Maṭrūḥ is said to have sent to one Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. 'Abd Allāh al-Miṣrī. Another poem (Amīn 113, 6vv)—which appears in MSS Rylands, BriLib, and Damascus, and shares the same metre (*basīṭ*) and rhyme-letter (*lām*) as al-Nabhānī 81—can be read alongside it in parallel.⁴² To facilitate this parallel reading, I will reproduce the text and translations of both poems side-by-side.

Amīn 113

al-Nabhānī 81

41. Cerquiglini, 1989.

42. This poem appears in Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, no. 119 (five lines).

- [١] أَلْيَّةٌ بِقُدُودِ الْهَيْفِ مَيَّلَهَا [١] أَلْيَّةٌ بِقُدُودِ الْهَيْفِ مَيَّلَهَا
 وَبِالْخُدُودِ إِذَا أَحْمَرَّتْ مِنَ الْخَجَلِ سَكَّرَ الشَّابَّ فَمَا تَخْلُو مِنَ الثَّمَلِ
 [٢] وَبِالْعُيُونِ الَّتِي فِي طَرْفِهَا مَرَضٌ [٢] وَبِالْعُيُونِ الَّتِي فِي طَرْفِهَا مَرَضٌ
 وَبِالْخُدُودِ إِذَا أَحْمَرَّتْ مِنَ الْخَجَلِ وَبِالْخُدُودِ إِذَا أَحْمَرَّتْ مِنَ الْخَجَلِ
 [٣] وَبِالنُّحُورِ إِذَا زَانَتْ قَلَائِدُهَا [٣] وَبِالنُّحُورِ إِذَا زَانَتْ قَلَائِدُهَا
 وَبِالثُّغُورِ إِذَا أُوْمَتْ إِلَى الْقُبَلِ وَبِالثُّغُورِ إِذَا أُوْمَتْ إِلَى الْقُبَلِ
 [٤] لَمْ أَلْقَ مُذْ بِنْتُ عَنْكُمْ مَا أُسْرُ بِهِ [٤] لَمْ أَلْقَ مُذْ بِنْتُ عَنْكُمْ مَا أُسْرُ بِهِ
 وَلَيْسَ لِي بَعْدَكُمْ فِي الْعَيْشِ مِنْ أَمَلٍ وَلَيْسَ لِي بَعْدَكُمْ فِي الْعَيْشِ مِنْ أَمَلٍ
 [٥] لَئِنْ ظَفِرْتُ بِلُقْيَاكُمْ وَفُزْتُ بِهِ [٥] لَئِنْ ظَفِرْتُ بِلُقْيَاكُمْ وَفُزْتُ بِهِ
 مَا أَسْتَشْرِفْتُ بَعْدَهَا نَفْسِي إِلَى أَمَلٍ مَا أَسْتَشْرِفْتُ بَعْدَهَا نَفْسِي إِلَى أَمَلٍ
 [٦] إِنْ قَدَّرَ اللَّهُ أَنْ أَحْظَى بِزُورَتِكُمْ [٦] إِنْ قَدَّرَ اللَّهُ أَنْ أَحْظَى بِزُورَتِكُمْ
 وَهَبْتُكُمْ كُلَّ مَا أَلْقَاهُ مِنْ أَجَلٍ وَهَبْتُكُمْ كُلَّ مَا أَلْقَاهُ مِنْ أَجَلٍ

43. This variant hemistich recorded in MS Rylands is given in Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, p. 171n.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. [I] swear by large, languid eyes,
and blushing cheeks,</p> <p>2. and her body swayed by slenderness,
and her lips leaning in for a kiss,</p> <p>3. For all that you boast, you're still
dearer to me than security to a coward</p> <p>4. My dears—no, there is no love between
us,
nor can my affection be moved—</p> <p>5. If I should have the pleasure of seeing you,
My soul won't look forward to anything
else after that
If God should will that I have the pleasure</p> <p>6. of seeing you,
I'd give you all the life I've got.</p> | <p>1. [I] swear by slender bodies, swayed
by youth's intoxication, not wholly sober</p> <p>2. Eyes in the corners of which lies illness
and blushing cheeks,</p> <p>3. and a neck adorned with necklaces
and her lips leaning in for a kiss</p> <p>4. Since leaving you, not a single thing has given
me pleasure,
and life holds no hope for me now you're gone.</p> |
|--|---|

MS SOAS also helps to clear up a dispute between the editors about an exchange of poems between Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Muḥaḍḍab al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥiyamī (d. 642/1245).⁴⁴ It is stated in MS SOAS that Ibn al-Ḥiyamī sent the following poem to Ibn Maṭrūḥ when the latter was working in *dīwān al-mawārīt*, i.e. the probate office or office responsible for inheritances.⁴⁵

وكتب اليه الشيخ مهذب الدين ابن الخيمي ايام كان على ديوان المواريث:

[من الطويل]

44. On this author, see 'Amr, 2005 and the numerous biographical sources cited there. This poem does not appear there, however. The other two editions of the *Dīwān* (Nāḡī and Zāhid (eds), 2008; Maḥfūz (ed.), 1970) were not available to me.

45. SOAS Arabic MS 13248, ff. 82b–83a.

- [١] لِمِهْيَارِ مِصْرٍ أُسْجِلَ الْفَضْلَ عِنْدَنَا
 وَأُبْطَلْتُ الدَّعْوَى لِمِهْيَارِ فَارِسِ
 [٢] فَبَيْنَهُمَا فِي النِّظْمِ وَالنَّثْرِ إِنِّ هُمَا
 شَبَرْتَهُمَا مَا بَيْنَ مَاشٍ وَفَارِسِ
 [٣] فَتَى نَظَرَ السُّلْطَانَ فِيهِ مَخَايِلَ (م)
 الدَّرَايَةِ وَالْدَيَّوَانُ نَظْرَةً فَارِسِ
 [٤] فَوَلَاهُ أَمْوَالَ الْمَوَارِيثِ حَامِيًا
 بِهِ سَرَبَهَا مِنْ كُلِّ أَفْزَعِ فَارِسِ
 [٥] كَأَنَّ بَنَ مَطْرُوحٍ أَقَامَ ابْنَ أَحْمَدَ
 وَأَحْيَاهُ مِنْ بَعْدِ الْبِلَادِ ابْنَ فَارِسِ
 [٦] فَكُلُّ أَمِيرٍ فِي الْبَلَاغَةِ عِنْدَهُ
 غُلَامٌ فَلَا تَبْعَتْ سِوَاهُ بِفَارِسِ

The Mihyār of Egypt is favored by us, I record,

and I've given up calling on the Mihyār of Persia.⁴⁶

The distance between them, when it comes to poetry and prose, is

like measuring between one who walks and one on horseback.

A young man in whom the Sultan detected

perception; the *dīwān* is suited only to a deliberate man.

So he put him in touch of the funds of legacies, to protect

them from leaking at the hands of those frightened by lions.

[It's] as though Ibn Maṭrūḥ resurrected Ibn Aḥmad,

and revived Ibn Fāris from a great distance.⁴⁷

For every commander of rhetoric has a squire,

so don't send anyone else off with your horse.

In his reply to Ibn al-Ḥiyamī, Ibn Maṭrūḥ uses the same metre and rhyme-letter, but he self-consciously does not mimic the recurrent rhyme-word used in the original poem:⁴⁸

46. i.e. Mihyār al-Daylamī (d. 428/1037). Cf. Adūnīs, 1961; English translation by Haydar and Beard, 2008; French translation by Minkowski, 1983.

47. For the identities of Ibn Aḥmad and Ibn Fāris, see Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, p. 71n.

48. SOAS Arabic MS 13248, f. 83a.

فكتب إليه:

[من الطويل]

- [١] أَبَاعَتْهَا مَلَأَ الْمَسَامِعَ حِكْمَةً قَوَافٍ تُحَلَّى كَالْعَذَارَى الْعِرَائِسِ
 [٢] شَوَارِدُ عَنْ أَذْهَانِ قَوْمٍ شَوَارِدِ أَوَانِسُ تَزْرِي بِالْحِجْسَانِ الْأَوَانِسِ
 [٣] مُهَذَّبَةٌ جَاءَتْ لَنَا مِنْ مُهَذَّبٍ تَدُلُّ لَهُ كُلُّ الْقَوَافِي الشَّوَامِسِ
 [٤] تَعُزُّ عَلَى مَنْ رَامَهَا غَيْرُ رَثِّهَا وَتَطْغَى فَمَا تُعْطِي قِيَاداً لِلَامِسِ
 [٥] سُدَاسِيَّةٌ لَوْ قَالَ أَتَى بِسَابِعٍ لَهَا أَبْنُ سَلِيمَانَ أَتَى بَعْدَ خَامِسِ
 [٦] وَحَاوَلْتُ مِنْهَا الرِّاءَ وَالسَّيْنَ فَاحْتَمَّتْ عَلَيَّ بِحَامٍ ذِي أَقْتِدَارٍ وَحَابِسِ
 [٧] حَمَيْتَ حِمَاهَا ثُمَّ أَغْلَقْتُ بَابَهَا وَحَصَّنْتُ مِنْهَا كُلَّ بَيْتٍ بِفَارِسِ

ملء | في مخطوطة SOAS: مل. قواف | في مخطوطة SOAS: قوافي. الشوامس | في مخطوطة SOAS: الشوامسي.
 بحام | في مخطوطة SOAS: بخادم. وحصنت | في مخطوطة SOAS: وحُصَّت.

O Sender, ears have been filled with wisdom by

rhyming verses adorned like virgin brides.

Trendy verses that [befuddle the minds of] a befuddled nation,

maiden-verses that put beautiful maidens to shame.

A refined woman sent to us by a refined man,

who[se identity was] signaled by all the unruly rhymes.

Toward anyone but her owner, she's a difficult ride,

she disobeys, and won't be led by anyone who tries.

A six-liner, if al-Ma'arrī were to say to it: "I've brought a seventh [verse]"

It would [still] come after the fifth [verse].⁴⁹

I gave the R and S a try, but it locked me out,

49. Naṣṣār suggests that Ibn Sulaymān here refers to Abū 'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (see Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, p. 71n). *Sulaymāna* is written thus in the SOAS MS, though one would want to read it as *Sulaymānā* for the sake of the metre.

with a powerful protector [between us].

You have secured it, locked the gate behind you

and stationed a horseman at [the door of] every single house/verse.⁵⁰

The printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* do not agree on the order and authorship of these two poems. Al-Nabhānī and Naṣṣār incorrectly identify the author of the first poem as Ibn Maṭrūḥ and the second as Ibn al-Ḥiyamī; whereas Amīn and al-Ṣāliḥ present the poems with the correct attribution as now corroborated by MS SOAS.

A recurrent rhyme-word, like that found in Ibn al-Ḥiyamī's poem above, is known as the *radīf* (or “the one who rides behind”), and is relatively rare in Arabic poetry as compared to Persian poetry.⁵¹ Nevertheless—as perhaps another indication of the diversification of literary styles and forms in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's age—we find the following poem (al-Nabhānī 78) with the *radīf* of *kaḍā* in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*. This bold poem follows the Mutanabbian model of presenting the poet-patron relationship as that of a lover and his reluctant beloved.

[من الطويل]

50. The final hemistich includes a double entendre (*tawriya*) that sums up Ibn Maṭrūḥ's reply: the Arabic word *bayt* means both “dwelling” and “poetic verse” and the horseman (*fāris*) he refers to is the rhyme-word repeated in each verse of Ibn al-Ḥiyamī's poem.

51. See *EncIsl*², s.v. “Radīf” [W. P. Heinrichs].

- [١] تَعَشَّقْتُ بِدِرْأٍ وَجْهَهُ مُشْرِقُ كَذَا
 [٢] لَهُ مُقْلَةٌ كَحُلَاءِ نَجْلَاءٍ إِنْ رَنَتْ
 [٣] تَبَدَّى فَقَالَ النَّاسُ لَا بَدْرَ غَيْرُهُ
 [٤] أَقُولُ وَقَدْ عَاتَبْتُهُ وَيَمِينُهُ
 [٥] فَذَنِّكَ حَيَاتِي يَا مُنَى النَّفْسِ هَلْ تَرَى
 [٦] فَقَالَ وَقَدْ أَبَدَى التَّبَسُّمَ ضَاحِكاً
 [٧] وَبَتْ عَلَى طَيْبِ الْعِناقِ مُقْبِلاً
 [٨] وَقَالَ أَمَا تَخْشَى الْوُشَاةَ وَتَتَّقِي
 [٩] فَقُلْتُ لَهُ وَاللَّهِ يَا غَايَةَ الْمُنَى
 [١٠] وَبُحْتُ بِسَرِّي وَاطَّرَحْتُ عَوَازِلِي
 [١١] وَقَالَ أَمَا أَنْذَرْتُكَ الْآنَ أَنَّنِي
 [١٢] أَلَا يَا نَسِيمَ الرِّيحِ بِاللَّهِ بَلَّغِي
 [١٣] وَقُولِي لَهُ ذَاكَ الْكَيْبُ أَمَلَّنِي
 [١٤] عَسَاهُ إِذَا وَافَتْ تَحِيَّةُ عَبْدِهِ
 [١٥] وَأَقْسِمُ بِاللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ وَوَجْهِهِ أَلْ
 [١٦] لئن صَدَّ عَنِّي مُعْرِضاً مُتَدَلِّلاً
 [١٧] تَعَلَّقْتُ بِالسُّلْطَانِ أَيُّوبَ سَيِّداً
- إِذَا مَاسَ خِلْتُ الْعُصْنَ مِنْ قَدِّهِ كَذَا
 رَمَتْ أَسْهُمًا فِي قَلْبِ عَاشِقِهِ كَذَا
 وَخَرَّ لَهُ كُلُّ الْوَرَى سُجَّداً كَذَا
 عَلَى خَدِّهِ إِذْ طَالَ مُفْتَكِراً كَذَا
 أَرَاكَ ضَّجِيعِي لَيْلَةً آمِناً كَذَا
 أَتَيْتُكَ فَأُخْفِلُ بِي فَقُلْتُ لَهُ كَذَا
 لِفِيهِ إِلَى أَنْ مَالٍ مِنْ سُكْرِهِ كَذَا
 عِيُونَ الْأَعَادِي وَالْوُشَاةُ بِنَا كَذَا
 كَشَفْتُ قِنَاعِي فِيكَ بَيْنَ الْوَرَى كَذَا
 فَاطَّرَقَ إِذْ أَوْمَى بِإِصْبَعِهِ كَذَا
 أَحَبُّ أَكْتَتَامِ الْأَمْرِ قُلْتُ لَهُ كَذَا
 سَلَامِي عَلَى مَنْ صِرْتُ فِي حُبِّهِ كَذَا
 وَأَهْدَى سَلَاماً مِنْ تَحِيَّتِهِ كَذَا
 يُسَائِلُ عَنْ حَالِي بِأَنْمُلَةٍ كَذَا
 كَرِيمٍ وَإِلَّا مِتُّ مُعْتَقِداً كَذَا
 وَأَضْبَحَ حَبْلُ الْوَدِّ مَا بَيْنَنَا كَذَا
 وَمَنْ جَوْدُهُ فِي النَّاسِ بَيْنَ الْوَرَى كَذَا

1. I fell in love with [one as pretty as] a full moon, his face shines like so.

If he sauntered past, you'd think his body were a branch like so.

2. When his large, dark eyes gaze happily,

they launch arrows at the heart of his lover like so.

3. When he appears, everyone says "There is no moon but he,"

and they all prostrate themselves before him like so.

4. After I chastised him, I said to him, as he lay his cheek on

his right hand, lost in thought, like so

5. "I'd give my life for you, O you my soul's only desire, tell me

will I ever share your bed on a guarded night like so?"

6. And he answered, wearing a grin,

"I'm here with you now so see to me" and I said, "like so[?]"

7. And I spent a while in the pleasure of his embrace, kissing

his mouth until he, in his drunkenness, listed to one side like so.

8. "Aren't you afraid of the gossips?" he asked, "Don't you want to hide

from enemy eyes for the gossips [surround us] like so?"

9. So I said to him, "By God, O object of my dreams,

"I've come clean with everyone about my feelings for you, like so."

10. "And I've revealed my secret and spurned those who chastise me."

He was silent, his eyes downcast, when he made a signal with his finger like so

11. And said, "Didn't I just warn you? I

"like to keep things discreet?" So I answered him like so:

12. "O breeze—please God—won't you

"give my greetings to the one whom I love who has me like so?

13. "And tell him that this desperate one 'Put his trust in me

"to deliver a greeting like so."

14. Perhaps if he receives his servant's greeting,

he'll ask how I'm doing, with a flick of his finger, like so.

15. I swear by God and His noble

face that I will go to the grave, clinging firmly like so,

16. if he shuns me, turns away from me, teases me,

and the bond[s] of affection between us become frayed like so.

17. I cling to Sultan Ayyūb, my lord,

the one, who more than all others, is generous like so.

Paratexts

According to paratextual evidence, a number of poems in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* are said—according to the headings of the poems themselves—to have been delivered as letters, though this may have been a literary conceit (see SOAS 11, 14, 16–21, 24, 34–36, 38, 41–4, 47–50, 54; al-Nabhānī 10, 18, 29, 81; Naṣṣār 56, 81, 146, 164). Ibn Ḥallikān notes that Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr sustained their close friendship by exchanging poems about what was happening in their lives by post.⁵² Other headings in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* indicate the events that occasioned, or purportedly occasioned, the poem's composition and delivery, thus linking the literary texts to contemporary events in the poet's private and professional lives. Ceremonial poems include a poem on the occasion of al-Malak al-Muḡīṭ's circumcision (SOAS 10), the capture of Jerusalem in 1239 (al-Nabhānī 13), the construction of a bathhouse (al-Nabhānī 25), and the death of Faḥr al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Muḥammad at the battle of Mansoura on 5 Dū al-Qa'da/9 February 1250 (Naṣṣār 131). One five-line poem (al-Nabhānī 9) by Ibn Maṭrūḥ is said to have been written to grace the entrance of a house built by his patron al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (d. 647/1249). Poems inspired by events in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's personal life include a poem on visiting Ibn al-'Adīm (d.660/1262) after going to the bathhouse (SOAS 33), visiting the tomb of al-Ṣāfi' (SOAS 37), visiting the tomb of the Prophet Abraham (Amīn M1.5), a poem to accompany a gift (SOAS 16), and a poem chastizing Ibn Ḥallikān (d. 681/1282) for not visiting (SOAS 36).⁵³

52. Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt*, 6:263.

53. On the latter, see Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt*, 6:262 and al-'Aynī, *Iqd*, 1:61.

MS SOAS, like the printed editions of the *Dīwān*, records a series of poems that Ibn Maṭrūḥ dictated to his kinsman ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Ġayāṭ al-Quraṣī, who was permitted to transmit them as well as the date on which he heard them.⁵⁴ These thirteen poems (a total of fifty-five verses) appear to have been composed in Cairo over a period of less than two weeks from 9–20 Rajab 648/7–18 October 1250 during which Ibn Maṭrūḥ meditated on his own mortality.⁵⁵ While contemporary and near-contemporary biographers do not agree on the date of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s death, none of them put his death as early as 648/1250.⁵⁶ If we follow Ibn Ḥallikān, who claimed to have been present at his friend’s funeral and burial, this sequence of poems on impending mortality predate the poet’s actual death by nearly a year, and come a year after the death of his one time patron al-Malik al-Šāliḥ in Sha‘bān 647/November 1249. It appears, according again to Ibn Ḥallikān, that Ibn Maṭrūḥ was depressed and was in danger of losing his sight; this is likely what prompted the poet’s meditations on mortality.⁵⁷

Indeed among this sequence, we find a poem that purports to dramatize a conversation between the dreadful poet and his fatalist wife (SOAS 71):⁵⁸

[من الطويل]

54. These poems are SOAS 60–72.

55. The dates and the location of this activity are recorded in the headings of this poem sequence reproduced in the printed editions as found in some of the MSS of the *Dīwān* as well as in MS SOAS, ff. 88b–91a.

56. There are two accounts of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s retirement from public life: (1) Ibn Ḥallikān records that Ibn Maṭrūḥ retired to his home in Cairo after the death of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ in Ša‘bān 647/November 1249 but (2) Ibn Wāṣil records that he continued to serve the Ayyūbid administration at a high level until the assassination of al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Tūrān-Shāh in Muḥarram 648/May 1250. (See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, ed. Ğ. Amīn, pp. 29–32.

57. Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt*, 6:262 and al-‘Aynī, *Iqd*, 1,1:61.

58. I reproduce here the MS SOAS text of the poem, which differs from the printed editions. NB: the final hemistich is defective.

- [١] وَقَائِلَةٌ مَاذَا اتَّخَوْفُ كُلُّهُ مِنْ اللَّهِ وَهُوَ الْمُنْعِمُ الْمُتَمَفِّضُ
 [٢] فَقُلْتُ لَهَا عَلِمِي بِمَا قَدْ جَنَيْتُهُ وَأَنْتِ عَلِيمٌ حِينَ أَقْدَمَ أُسْأَلُ
 [٣] فَقَالَتْ إِذَا فَكَّرْتُ فِي يَوْمٍ مَوْقِفٍ يَهُونُ عَلَيْكَ الْأَمْرُ جِدًّا وَأَسْهَلُ
 [٤] فَقُلْتُ لَهَا أَرَشَدْتِ لِلْخَيْرِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كُنْتُ ذَا حَزْمٍ لَمَا كُنْتُ أَجْهَلُ
 [٥] وَيَكْفِيكَ قَوْلُ الْمُصْطَفَى وَهُوَ الَّذِي بِهِ صَارَ فِي كُلِّ الْأُمُورِ التَّوَسُّلُ
 [٦] وَقَدْ سَأَلُوهُ قَالَ بَلْ أَعْمَلُوا وَفِي خَبَرٍ قَالِ اعْقِلُوا وَتَوَكَّلُوا

1. When she asked me, “What’s with all this worry? Why do you fear

God, the Most Gracious Benefactor?”

2. “Because I know what I’ve done,” I told her,

“and I know that when I meet him, I’ll be held to account.”

3. She said, “If only you’d think of the day you’ll stand before God,⁵⁹

It would all be easier for you to bear”.

4. So I said to her, “You’ve pointed me toward all that is good.

If I were a more resolute man, I wouldn’t have been so ignorant.”

5. It is enough simply to remember what the Prophet has said,

for he is the one who pleads on our behalf in all things,

6. When he was asked, he answered: “Do it.” And

in another report, he said, “Be reasonable and entrust your fate in God?”

The last poem in this sequence is a *dubayt* poem that Ibn Maṭrūḥ is said to have uttered when he was “near death” (*inda wafātih*), which is followed in SOAS and other MSS by another

59. See Quran VI, *al-An‘ām*, 30.

five *dūbayt* poems (six out of seven total *dūbayt* poems attributed to Ibn Maṭrūḥ).⁶⁰ Indeed many of the poems in the SOAS MS are short, of what we might call epigrammatic length:

<u>Poem length</u>	<u>Number of poems</u>	<u>Percentage of total (lines)</u>
40 or more lines long	2	22%
20–39 lines long	5	28%
10–19 lines long	6	13%
5–9 lines long	14	15%
3 or 4 lines long	13	8%
1 or 2 lines long	42	14%

Of the 82 poems in the MS SOAS, 40 of them are two-liners. This is perhaps typical of a broader trend in poetic composition in the XIII century away from performative set-piece poetry; a trend that would only accelerate in the XIV and XV centuries. Ibn Maṭrūḥ did of course write and deliver long panegyric poems for the political leaders who were his patrons, but he also wrote a number of shorter poems, including poems written to and for his peers. These short poems spanned several genres: elegy (*riṭāʿ*: see al-Nabhānī 7), panegyric (*madīḥ*: see al-Nabhānī 16), riddle (*luġz*: see SOAS 47–8), erotic (*ġazal*: see SOAS 52–3), and invective (*hiġāʿ*: see SOAS 55–9), and because of their wit and ease of circulation, they proved irresistible to anthologists.⁶¹ Another example of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's legacy is the emulation of his work by later poets. Al-Šawkānī records in his *al-Badr al-ṭālīʿ bi-maḥāsin man baʿd al-qarn al-sābiʿ* that the Yemeni poet Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad (d. c. 1080/1669) composed a poem with the same rhyme as Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poem SOAS 5—a panegyric in

60. See SOAS 73–78, and also Amīn Rub.2, in the concordance below. On the form itself, see *EncIsl*², s.v. “*Rubāʿī* (pl. *Rubāʿīyyāt*), 3. In Arabic” [W. Stoetzer] and *EncIsl*³, s.v. “*Dūbayt* (a) in Arabic” [A. Talib].

61. The anonymous collector of MS Berlin₂ uses the term *maqāṭīʿ* to describe some of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poems. See also al-Šafādī, *al-Wāfī*, 2:77–8. For more on *maqāṭīʿ*, see my forthcoming study *How do you say “Epigram” in Arabic?* (Leiden 2016). Ibn Maṭrūḥ is one of the poets cited in the xvth-century anthology *Kitāb Naṣr zahr al-ḥadāʾiq wa-durr al-naẓm al-fāʾiq* (225 ff.) that was recently sold by Bernard Quaritch of London for £7500 on 24 March 2014. This manuscript was later acquired by the special collections library at NYU Abu Dhabi. I would like to thank Nicholas McBurney of Heywood Hill and Virginia Danielson, Nicholas Martin, and Maurice Pomerantz all of NYU Abu Dhabi for their generous and prompt replies to inquiries about this manuscript.

praise of al-Malik al-Ašraf I (d. 635/1237)—and that it was one of his most outstanding compositions.⁶²

The heretofore unused SOAS MS of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* is unlikely to change radically what we know of the poet's career and output, but it is an important source for understanding the contemporary and near-contemporary reception of the poet's work, and it is indeed crucial for understanding the textual history of the poet's *Dīwān* and the as-yet uninvestigated history of its recensions. It is also a signal example of the inefficient and rather haphazard treatment of material used for the study of Arabic literary history. Ibn Maṭrūḥ's name and the vague outline of his poetic career is widely known, but this manuscript of his *Dīwān*—like its overlooked and underappreciated contents—has something new to tell us, if we only care to look.

62. al-Šawkānī, *al-Badr*, p. 65.

Concordance of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poetry

This concordance allows readers to trace versions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poems (or those attributed to him) across four printed editions as well as the heretofore unknown and oldest recension of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* (SOAS Arabic MS 13248). Key: Nab = al-Nabhānī ed., A = Amīn ed., Ş = Şāliḥ ed., Naş = Naşşār ed., İH = poem by Ibn al-Ḥiyamī (discussed above), Rub = *rubā'īyyāt* section in A, M1 = first *mulḥaq* in A, M2 = second *mulḥaq* in A.

SOAS	vv.	ff.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	SOAS	vv.	ff.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.
1	53	65b-67b	1	55	22	55	1	55	1	55	42	2	86b	42	2	30	2	42	2	42	2
2	8	68a	2	9	118	10	2	10	2	19	43	2	86b	43	2	151	2	43	2	43	2
3	22	68b-69a	3	22	142	22	3	22	3	22	44	2	86b	44	2	10	2	44	2	44	2
4	35	69a-70b	4	35	143	35	4	35	4	35	45	2	86b	50	2	134	2	50	2	50	2
5	39	70b-72a	5	38	90	39	5	39	5	41	46	2	86b-87a	51	2	116	2	51	2	51	2
6	13	72a-72b	6	13	85	16	6	16	6	16	47	2	87a	52	2	19	2	52	2	52	2
7	10	73a	8	10	145	10	8	10	8	10	48	2	87a	53	2	56	2	53	2	53	2
8	17	73b-74a	19	16	80	16	19	16	19	17	49	2	87a	54	2	84	2	54	2	54	2
9	71	74a-77a	20	71	32	73	20	73	20	73	50	2	87a-87b	60	2	44	2	60	2	60	2
10	33	77a-78a	21	33	109	33	21	33	21	33	51	2	87b	61	2	81	2	61	2	61	2
11	32	78b-79a	22	32	33	33	22	33	22	33	52	2	87b	63	2	74	2	63	2	63	2
12	11	79b-80a	47	11	59	12	47	12	47	12	53	2	87b	64	2	123	2	64	2	64	2
13	13	80a-80b	49	27	95	32	49	32	49	31	54	2	87b-88a	80	2	41	2	80	2	80	2

SOAS	vv.	ff.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	SOAS	vv.	ff.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.
14	4	81a	31	4	132	4	31	4	31	4	55	2	88a	67	2	42	2	67	2	67	2
15	6	81a	32	6	35	6	32	6	32	6	56	4	88a	68	4	36	4	68	4	68	4
16	4	81b	35	4	1	4	35	4	35	4	57	2	88a	69	2	49	2	69	2	69	2
17	5	81b	36	5	128	5	36	5	36	5	58	2	88a-88b	70	2	43	2	70	2	70	2
18	3	81b-82a	39	3	83	3	39	3	39	3	59	2	88b	71	2	108	2	71	2	71	2
19	12	82a-82b	40	12	3	12	40	12	40	12	60	6	88b-89a	84	6	2	6	84	6	84	6
20	4	82b	41	4	71	4	41	4	41	4	61	3	89a	85	3	131	3	85	3	85	3
IÜ	6	82b-83a	45,1	6	...	...	...	...	45,1	6	62	2	89a	86	2	79	2	86	2	86	2
21	7	83a	45,2	7	77	7	45	7	45,2	7	63	2	89a	87	2	28	2	87	2	87	2
22	4	83a-83b	46	4	18	4	46	4	46	4	64	2	89a-89b	88	2	51	2	88	2	88	2
23	6	83b	58	6	122	6	58	6	58	6	65	2	89b	89	2	5	2	89	2	89	2
24	3	83b	55	3	24	3	55	3	55	3	66	2	89b	90	2	127	2	90	2	90	2
25	6	83b-84a	79	7	21	9	79	2	79	9	67	6	89b-90a	91	7	12	7	91	7	91	7
26	3	84a	82	3	38	3	82	3	82	3	68	4	90a	92	4	15	4	92	4	92	4
27	4	84a-84b	83	4	31	4	83	4	83	4	69	9	90a-90b	93	8	110	9	93	9	93	9
28	6	84b	59	6	17	6	59	6	59	6	70	6	90b	94	6	6	6	94	6	94	6
29	4	84b-85a	65	4	16	4	65	4	65	4	71	6	90b-91a	95	6	104	6	95	6	95	6

30	5	85a	66	4	150	5	66	5	66	5	72	4	91a	96	4	106	4	96	4	96	4
SOAS	vv.	ff.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	SOAS	vv.	ff.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.
31	2	85a	12	2	37	2	12	2	12	2	73	2	91a	97	2	Rub.5	2	97	2	97	2
32	2	85a	14	2	39	2	14	2	14	2	74	2	91a-91b	98	2	Rub.4	2	98	2	98	2
33	2	85b	17	2	133	2	17	2	17	2	75	2	91b	99	2	Rub.1	2	99	2	99	2
34	2	85b	23	2	107	2	23	2	23	2	76	2	91b	100	2	Rub.3	2	100	2	100	2
35	2	85b	24	2	29	2	24	2	24	2	77	2	91b	101	2	Rub.7	2	101	2	101	2
36	2	85b	26	2	78	2	26	2	26	2	78	2	92a	102	2	Rub.6	2	102	2	102	2
37	2	85b-86a	28	2	99	2	28	3	28	2	79	2	92a	104	2	155	2	103	2	103	2
38	2	86a	33	2	40	2	33	2	33	2	80	2	92a	...	...	141	2	154	2	104	2
39	1	86a	34	1	75	1	34	1	34	1	81	1	92a	105	2	27	2	104	2	105	2
40	2	86a	37	2	73	2	37	2	37	2	82	5	92a	106	5	57	5	105	5	106	5
41	2	86a	38	2	97	2	38	2	38	2											

Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.
7	2	72	2	7	2	7	2	9	5	45	5	9	5	9	5	10	3	55	3	10	3	10	3
11	11	20	11	11	13	11	11	13	3	54	3	13	3	13	3	15	6	34	6	15	6	15	6
16	2	9	2	16	2	16	2	18	4	58	5	18	5	18	5	25	4	63	4	25	4	25	4

Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.
27	4	114	4	27	4	27	4	29	6	135	6	29	6	29	6	30	3	11	3	30	3	30	3
48	17	66	20	48	20	48	20	56	11	152	11	56	11	56	11	57	15	144	15	57	15	57	15
62	11	47	11	62	11	62	11	72	14	4	14	72	14	72	14	73	15	146	17	73	17	73	16
74	20	7	20	74	20	74	20	75	11	136	13	75	14	75	15	76	15	65	21	76	21	76	21
77	4	50	4	77	4	77	4	78	17	48	17	78	17	78	17	81	4	115	4	81	4	81	4
103	20	100	18	118	21	216	21																
A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.
8	16	109	16	111	16	13	4	132	4	114	4	14	13	...	...	115	13	23	9	129	9	119	9
25	17	106	18	127	18	26	10	...	...	125	10	46	2	...	...	134	2	52	7	148	7	145	7
53	8	...	...	147	8	60	14	113	14	139	14	61	5	...	...	141	5	62	5	147	5	135	5
64	2	152	2	138	2	67	10	111	10	151	10	68	7	112	7	152	7	69	7	...	...	149	7
70	7	...	...	150	7	76	27	110	27	159	28	77	7	45	7	...	...	82	8	...	...	166	8
86	2	172	2	169	2	87	9	...	...	176	9	88	2	134	2	178	2	89	13	114	13	172	13
91	7	141	7	194	7	92	7	135	7	185	6	94	2	151	2	184	2	96	7	149	7	186	7

A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.
98	20	115	22	195	20	101	17	117	17	218	17	102	11	116	11	219	11	103	6	...	...	205	6
105	10	...	...	199	10	111	8	...	...	206	8	112	6	...	...	214	6	113	6	119	5	212	6
117	4	140	4	222	4	119	8	120	8	240	8	120	19	121	19	231	19	121	6	...	...	230	6
124	7	133	7	223	7	125	9	123	9	224	9	126	13	...	...	239	13	129	17	122	18	234	18
130	8	...	...	238	8	137	8	...	...	245	8	138	20	127	20	243	20	139	12	126	12	242	12
140	6	130	6	241	7	147	10	125	9	250	14	148	5	128	6	...	...	149	7	124	8	251	8
153	12	107	11	255	12	154	7	108	7	258	7	Rub.2	2	131	2	107	2	M1.1	2	...	...	259	2
M1.2	5	155	5	113	5	M1.3	2	158	2	...	...	M1.4	2	159	2	116	2	M1.5	8	160	8	120	7
M1.7	2	164	2	143	2	M1.8	2	163	2	...	...	M1.9	2	165	2	156	2	M1.10	6	166	6	148	6
M1.11	5	167	5	157	5	M1.12	2	178	2	196	2	M1.13	2	168	2	158	2	M1.14	5	169	5	162	5
M1.15	4	171	4	168	4	M1.16	9	173	9	179	9	M1.17	2	174	2	180	2	M1.18	3	175	3	189	3
M1.19	2	176	2	192	2	M1.20	3	177	3	...	...	M1.21	2	182	2	...	...	M1.22	3	181	3	233	3
M1.23	4	185	4	256	4	M2.1	9	...	...	108	9	M2.2	8	...	...	112	8	M2.3	9	...	...	110	9
M2.4	7	...	...	117	7	M2.5	2	...	...	261	2	M2.6	5	...	...	128	5	M2.7	10	139	10	121	10
M2.8	8	...	...	133	8	M2.9	10	...	...	129	10	M2.10	6	...	...	142	6	M2.11	6	...	...	140	6

A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.	A	vv.	Ş	vv.	Naş	vv.
M2.12	8	...	...	154	8	M2.13	7	...	...	153	7	M2.14	5	...	...	155	6	M2.16	6	...	...	160	6
M2.17	6	...	...	171	6	M2.18	8	...	...	170	8	M2.19	7	...	...	177	7	M2.20	7	...	...	173	7
M2.21	5	150	5	182	5	M2.22	7	...	...	190	7	M2.23	11	142	11	217	11	M2.24	9	...	...	203	9
M2.25	9	...	...	201	9	M2.26	7	...	...	200	7	M2.27	9	...	...	207	9	M2.28	5	...	...	210	5
M2.29	7	137	7	215	7	M2.30	7	138	7	211	7	M2.31	12	...	...	213	12	M2.32	8	...	...	220	8
M2.33	9	...	...	229	9	M2.34	10	...	...	228	10	M2.35	9	...	...	225	9	M2.36	6	...	...	227	6
M2.37	8	...	...	237	8	M2.38	7	...	...	236	7	M2.39	7	...	...	235	7	M2.40	8	...	...	232	8
M2.41	7	...	...	246	7	M2.42	6	...	...	247	6	M2.43	2	153	2	244	2	M2.45	7	136	7	252	7
M2.46	6	...	...	253	7	M2.47	9	...	...	257	9	...	...	162	4	146	4						

A 93, M1.6, M2.15, M2. 44, Ş 143–46, 156–57, 161–62, 170, 179–80, 183–84, and Naş 109, 118, 122–24, 126, 130–32, 136–37, 144, 161, 163–65, 167, 174–75, 181, 183, 187–88, 191, 193, 197–98, 202, 204, 208–9, 221, 226, 248–49, 254, 260 are unique to their sources.

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